

Reflections on the causes that led to the formation of the colonization society

REFLECTIONS ON THE CAUSES THAT LED TO THE FORMATION OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY: WITH A VIEW OF ITS PROBABLE RESULTS:

UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADS:

THE INCREASE OF THE COLOURED POPULATION.

THE ORIGIN OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THE MANUMISSION OF SLAVES IN THIS COUNTRY.

THE DECLARATIONS OF LEGISLATURES, AND OTHER ASSEMBLED BODIES, IN FAVOUR OF THE SOCIETY.

THE SITUATION OF THE COLONISTS AT MONROVIA AND OTHER TOWNS.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE SETTLERS.

THE SOIL AND CLIMATE OF LIBERIA.

ITS PRODUCTIONS AND COMMERCE.

THE ADVANTAGES TO THE FREE COLOURED POPULATION BY EMIGRATION TO LIBERIA.

THE CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES OF AFRICA, BEFORE THE IRRUPTION OF THE BARBARIANS.

THE EFFECTS OF THE COLONIZATION ON THE SLAVE TRADE—WITH A SLIGHT SKETCH OF THAT NEFARIOUS AND ACCURSED TRAFFIC.

"Is a nation like this to be embarrassed by an annual appropriation of little more than a million of dollars to the cause of humanity? a nation that can extinguish in a year twelve millions of national debt, and at the same time prosecute with vigour its majestic plans of defence and internal improvement? a nation, one of whose states can hazard six millions of dollars on the project of opening a canal—a nation, whose canvass whitens every sea, and proudly enters almost every harbour of the globe?—a nation, whose villages and cities are rising, as by magic, over a fertile territory of two millions of square miles:—a nation, destined within the compass of the passing century to embosom a white population of eighty millions? With the past smiles of Divine Providence, our national debt will be soon annihilated. And from that glad hour, let the government



provide liberally for all its necessary operations—let it push forward in its splendid machinery of political improvement, and then give to our cause but the *surplus* of its revenue: and as regards the expense of transportation, it will furnish the means of granting to every African exile among us, a happy home in the land of his fathers, within the compass of six years. "—Rev. B. Dickinson.

BY M. CARRY.

PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED BY WM. F. GEDDES.

1832.

(GRATUITOUS.)

SECTIONS OF A SLAVE SHIP.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CAUSES THAT LED TO THE FORMATION OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY: WITH A VIEW OF ITS PROBABLE RESULTS:

UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADS:

THE INCREASE OF THE COLOURED POPULATION.

THE ORIGIN OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THE MANUMISSION OF SLAVES IN THIS COUNTRY.

THE DECLARATIONS OF LEGISLATURES, AND OTHER ASSEMBLED BODIES, IN FAVOUR OF THE SOCIETY.

THE SITUATION OF THE COLONISTS AT MONROVIA AND OTHER TOWNS.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE SETTLERS.

THE SOIL AND CLIMATE OF LIBERIA.

ITS PRODUCTIONS AND COMMERCE.

THE ADVANTAGES TO THE FREE COLOURED POPULATION BY EMIGRATION TO LIBERIA.

THE CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES OF AFRICA, BEFORE THE IRRUPTION OF THE BARBARIANS.



THE EFFECTS OF THE COLONIZATION ON THE SLAVE TRADE—WITH A SLIGHT SKETCH OF THAT NEFARIOUS AND ACCURSED TRAFFIC.

"Is a nation like this to be embarrassed by an annual appropriation of little more than a million of dollars to the cause of humanity? a nation that can extinguish in a year twelve millions of national debt, and at the same time prosecute with vigour its majestic plans of defence and internal improvement? a nation, one of whose states can hazard six millions of dollars on the project of opening a canal—a nation, whose canvass whitens every sea, and proudly enters almost every harbour of the globe?—a nation, whose villages and cities are rising, as by magic, over a fertile territory of two millions of square miles:—a nation, destined within the compass of the passing century to embosom a white population of eighty millions? With the past smiles of Divine Providence, our national debt will be soon annihilated. And from that glad hour, let the government provide liberally for all its necessary operations—let it push forward in its splendid machinery of political improvement, and then give to our cause but the surplus of its revenue: and as regards the expense of transportation, it will furnish the means of granting to every African exile among us, a happy home in the land of his fathers, within the compass of six years."—Rev. B. DICKINSON.

BY M. CAREY.

PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED BY WM. F. GEDDES.

1832.

(GRATUITOUS.)

ADVERTISEMENT.

This publication has been produced by a conviction, that even among those enlightened and opulent citizens who have expressed the warmest approbation of the system of colonization, it has not met with a degree of support in any degree commensurate with the beneficial consequences which, if properly countenanced, it cannot fail to produce. How, otherwise, can we account for the astounding fact, that in ten years, since 1821, when the first expedition was fitted out, it has received but about 110,000 dollars, from a population of 13,000,000, the most prosperous nation under the canopy of heaven?—not a single cent per head of the population, for one of the most interesting objects that ever came before the nation, scarcely yielding in importance to the declaration of independence, or the establishment of the federal constitution!



It being all-important to the success of this scheme to conciliate the approbation of the free coloured population, the promotion of whose welfare is one prominent object of the undertaking, it is earnestly and cordially recommended to them, to select a judicious committee of three, or five, or seven enlightened persons of their body, to visit Liberia the first opportunity; to make personal inquiry and rigorous investigation into the real state of affairs in the settlement; and, on their return, to publish the results, so as to place the matter in a clear light, beyond all possibility of doubt or cavil; that they may denounce the scheme, if pernicious—or, if otherwise, hail it as one of the greatest boons that heaven in its mercy could have bestowed on their long-oppressed nation. It is true, the testimony of Captains Sherman and Nicholson, and of Sheriff Devany, might supersede the necessity of this measure—but still that testimony, however clear and indisputable, would not have, with the mass of their people, half so much weight as the statement of an enlightened

* See pages 13 and 14.

committee of their own body.

Let it be observed, that this pamphlet, which is but ill-digested, makes not the slightest pretensions to originality. It is a mere cento of facts and observations from various writers, whose views are, it is confidently believed, given correctly to the public. There may be errors—but it is believed there are but few, and unimportant.

Philadelphia, Dec. 31, 1831.

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

"Among all the magnificent plans carrying on for the improvement and happiness of mankind, in many parts of the world, there is, perhaps, none upon which we may more confidently implore the blessings of Heaven, than that in which we are now associated, [Colonization.] Whether we consider the grandeur of the object or the wide sphere of Philanthropy which it embraces; or, whether we view the present state of its progress, under the auspices of this society, and under the obstacles which might have been expected, from the cupidity of many, we may discover, in each, a certain pledge, that the same benignant hand, which has fostered these preparatory arrangements, will crown our efforts with success."— Bushrod Washington's Address at the first meeting of the Society.

The Southampton affair has excited considerable attention towards the coloured population of the United States, and to the consequences likely to result from the admixture of two heterogenous castes in the same country, without the least probability, at any future period, however remote,



of an amalgamation, from the diversity of colour, which forms a radical difference between our situation and that of the Greeks and Romans, who might have abolished slavery at any period without producing any great difficulty. From the uniformity of colour of the master with the great mass of the slaves, a complete amalgamation might take place in the course of a single generation or two. To this amalgamation there is an impassible barrier in the United States.

The calm reflection of our most enlightened citizens has resulted in a deep conviction that the only remedy or palliation of the evils, present and future, of the existing state of things, is the colonization of the coloured people now in the enjoyment of freedom, and those who may be emancipated in future—and that Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, affords all the facilities for the purpose that could be desired.

Many of those citizens who ardently wish for the removal of such of the free coloured population, as are willing to go, to any place where they could enjoy, what they can never enjoy here, that is, all the advantages of society, self-government, eligibility to office, and freedom from the degradation arising from an inferiority of caste, whether real or supposed, have been deterred from affording the Colonization Society any aid, by the belief that the scheme is utterly impracticable—that the object in view is unattainable—and that of course, whatever of effort or money is bestowed on it, is so much absolutely thrown away. Of this opinion was the writer of this paper at an early stage of the existence of the Society. He regarded it as one of the wildest schemes that ever arrayed in its support a number of enlightened men. Mature reflection has convinced him of his error, and he is now thoroughly satisfied, that the plan is not more eligible than practicable, provided the General and State Governments and public-spirited citizens, yield it a support in any degree commensurate with its importance.

Under the hope of converting others, as he has been himself converted, he has believed that the might render some service to his country, by placing 2 before the public, in plain, unadorned language, the leading facts of the case, collected from various sources, under the following heads:

- 1. The increase of the coloured population.
- 2. The origin of the Colonization Society.
- 3. The manumission of slaves in this country,
- 4. The declarations of Legislatures, and other assembled bodies, in favour of the society.
- 5. The situation of the colonists at Monrovia and other towns.



- 6. Moral and religious character of the settlers.
- 7. The soil and climate of Liberia.
- 8. Its productions and commerce.
- 9. The advantages to the free coloured population by emigration to Liberia.
- 10. The character of the natives of Africa, before the irruption of the Goths and Vandals.
- 11. The effects of the Colonization on the slave trade—with a slight sketch of that nefarious and accursed traffic.

Increase of the Coloured Population.

The dangers from the great number of slaves, are yearly increasing by the natural horror of slavery which is constantly gaining strength in the breasts of the slaves,—by the increasing discussions that take place on the subject in our papers and among themselves—and by the inflammatory publications that are clandestinely spreading among them in spite of all the vigilance of their masters. Circumstances, too, are occasionally occurring that tend to fan the flame—among which may be reckoned the general manumission of the slaves in the royal Colonies of Great Britain—and the steady and persevering efforts making in and out of parliament in that country to procure a total emancipation in all the British Colonies.

In the discussion of this subject, it is only necessary to cast a furtive glance at the scenes in St. Domingo,—and the various insurrections planned and attempted in this country, to be satisfied that the subject does not obtain the consideration in general, to which its great magnitude entitles it. Although there is, I hope and trust, no danger of such attempts proving ultimately successful here, yet they may and in all probability will, often produce such horrible scenes of havoc and desolation as to make humanity shudder, in repetitions of those which recently took place at Southampton.

Even on this cursory view of the subject, it could scarcely have been anticipated that the scheme for the removal of the free people of colour, disposed to emigrate, as proposed by the Colonization Society, would have met with any serious opposition—and yet it is no less true than strange, that it has been violently opposed in two quarters where it might have been rationally supposed likely to meet with most favour, in South Carolina, and among some of the free blacks. *



* The free coloured population approved of the project at the commencement, when it appeared unsuccessful and unpromising, and underwent so many disasters, that they might have been justified in the most serious opposition; but it is truly wonderful, that, while all the difficulties have been surmounted, and the colonists enjoy all the comforts of independence and consideration in an equal degree with their former masters; and this duly certified by persons of their own colour, who have come to this country, and by the circular published by a committee at Liberia—it is, I say, wonderful that they have so completely changed their opinions, as appears from the following extract from the recent report of a committee of the annual convention of the free people of colour:

"Your committee view with unfeigned regret, and respectfully submit, to the wisdom of this convention, the operations and misrepresentations of the Colonization Society. We feel sorrowful to see such an immense and wanton waste of lives and property, not doubting the benevolent feelings of some individuals engaged in that cause. But we cannot, for a moment, doubt that the cause of many of our unconstitutional, unchristian, and unheard-of sufferings, emanates from that unhallowed source."

3

South Carolina is the State which is by far more particularly interested in its success than any other State in the union, except perhaps Louisiana—as these are the only two States in which the slave population exceeds the whites—and the increase of the former has been in a considerably greater ratio than that of the whites.

In 1790, the number of whites in South Carolina, was 131,181

the slaves 107,094

In 1830, the whites 257,878

the slaves 315,565

Thus it appears that while the slaves nearly trebled their numbers in forty years, the whites were only doubled.

The relative situation of the whites and the blacks, east of the Blue Ridge, in Virginia, in 1790 and 1830, as stated in a memorial lately presented to the legislature of that state, places the subject in a striking point of view. By this statement, it appears that the blacks have in forty years gained on the whites not less than 106,176, being more than a fourth of the present number of whites in that section of country! To render this result more appalling, it is to be observed, that, during this period,



the shipment of slaves, from that portion of Virginia, to the more southern states, has been carried to an enormous extent.

By the census of 1790, there were whites—

East of the Blue Ridge, 314,523

There were of blacks, 289,425

Majority of whites, 25,098

In 1800, there were blacks, 339,393

there were whites, 336,289

Majority of blacks, 3,104

In 1810, there were blacks, 386,942

there were whites, 338,553

Majority of blacks, 48,389

In 1820, there were blacks, 413,928

there were whites, 348,873

Majority of blacks, 65,055

In 1830, there were blacks, 457,013

there were whites, 375,935

Majority of blacks, 81,078

The following table exhibits the increase of the free coloured people in the United States, from the year 1790 to the present time:

In 1790, 50,481 In 1820, 233,530

1800, 110,073 1830, 319,467



1810, 188,465

The number of slaves,

In 1790, 697,697 1830, 2,010,527

Being a multiplication almost three fold.

4

The disparity of increase of the white and coloured population, in the five original slave states, deserves attention.

1790. 1830. Whites. Slaves. Whites. Slaves. Maryland, 208,649 103,036 291,093 102,878 Virginia, 442,117 292,627 694,327 469,724 North Carolina, 288,204 100,572 474,433 246,462 South Carolina, 130,181 107,091 257,878 315,665 Georgia, 52,986 29,264 296,614 217,470 1,122,137 633,590 2,012,457 1,352,199

It thus appears, that the whites, in forty years, increased but about seventy-nine per cent.; while the slaves increased one hundred and twelve. In North Carolina, the whites increased but sixty-four per cent.; while the slaves increased one hundred and forty-five. The number of slaves in Maryland has decreased, partly by manumissions, and partly by the shipment of slaves to the more Southern States, both of which have taken place in that state on a large scale. The free coloured population of that State, in 1790, was only 8,042, whereas, in 1830, it was 52,942.

It is important to ascertain the increase of the coloured population, generally

The total number of coloured people, free and slaves, in the United States.

In 1790 was 757,178

In 1800 1,006,921

In 1810 1,377,780

In 1820 1,771,658

In 1830 2,330,039



It is well worth serious consideration, what will probably be the extent of this population, in forty years, at the same ratio of increase as took place in the last ten years.

In 1840 3,045,504

In 1850 4,111,430

In 1860 5,549,435

In 1870 7,491,737

This is no fanciful calculation, the sport of a lively imagination. It is grounded on the actual ratio of increase that took place from the census of 1820 to that of 1830, viz. 35 per cent.

It is impossible to contemplate the subject, in this point of view, without the most serious alarm, and a thorough conviction that it is of paramount importance, and that there is an imperious necessity of making an effort to apply a remedy to the dangers with which it is pregnant.

Various statements have been given of the expense of the passage of emigrants to Liberia—16, 20, and 26 dollars—12 or 13 dollars for their maintenance at Monrovia for a year—children from ten to twelve years are taken at half price—and below two years, free of charge. There has hitherto been considerable disadvantage from the size of many of the vessels, and the small number of emigrants that went in some of them. It is believed, if the business were carried on, upon a scale commensurate with its importance, and in vessels of an improved construction, that the passage might be reduced to 15 dollars; and that the expence of maintaining emigrants at Liberia will be greatly reduced by the demand for labour in the colony, by which those who are able to work, may procure employment at once, and thus support themselves. I have recently seen a statement by which it appears 5 that of the whole number of emigrants who arrived in one vesssel, only seven were unemployed in ten or twelve days. Moreover, as the benefits of the plan to the emigrants become more generally known, it is fairly presumable that numbers of the coloured people, who have means, will emigrate at their own expense; and that many benevolent citizens will, as has already been done in various instances, defray the passage of their slaves. All these circumstances will tend to diminish the public burdens. Taking these considerations into view, it cannot be denied, that, to average the whole, young and old, at 25 dollars, cannot be far from the truth.

The increase is about 3½ per cent per annum. On the present population it is equal to about 75 or 80,000, annually. If it were intended to keep this population to its present standard, it would require \$2,000,000 annually. But we will confine ourselves to an emigration of 50,000, which would require



\$1,200,000, or even 25,000, which would require about \$600,000. Any of these emigrations would greatly mitigate the public danger. The sums are large, and would require considerable sacrifices. But was any great object ever attained without great sacrifices? We were able, in a comparatively feeble state, to raise \$100,000,000 in a year and a half for the support of a war, and our revenue has for years been from 23 to 27,000,000 of dollars. The direct tax of the state of Pennsylvania in the year 1815 was \$730,958, and of Virginia \$738,036, which was paid without any oppression of the citizens of either. And surely with an overflowing treasury, if reason and common sense have fair play, it would not be very difficult to procure an amendment of the constitution, if such an amendment be necessary, which is much doubted by many of our citizens, authorising the appropriation of a sum necessary for this purpose, to be ratified, according to the terms of the constitution, by three fourths of the States. And never did a nation appropriate money for a more valuable purpose.

There are twelve non-slave-holding States. There can be no doubt that these would ratify such an amendment; and from the prevalence of the conviction in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, of the dangers that menace the country from this source, their immediate concurrence might be calculated on, and the consent of one more would probably be had in a year or two, as the subject came to be more fully discussed, and of consequence better understood.

Origin of the project of colonization of the coloured population of the United States.

As early as the year 1777, Mr. Jefferson formed a plan for colonizing the coloured population of the United States, the particulars of which I have not been able to ascertain. There is reason to believe, it was not intended to be in Africa. Suffice it to say, that it proved abortive, owing to the distractions and difficulties of the war; and probably the novelty and magnitude of the undertaking had some influence in defeating it. How much to be deplored the result! had the project succeeded, what a source of difficulties and dangers would have been dried up!

The next person that appears to have taken up the subject ardently, was Dr. Thornton, of Washington, who formed a plan for establishing a colony of that population on the coast of Africa, in 1787, and published an address to those residing in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, inviting them to accompany him to that country. A sufficient number of them accepted the invitation, and were prepared for the expedition—but this also proved an abortion, for want of adequate funds. The public mind was not then prepared for affording pecuniary support.

6

About the year 1800 or 1801, the subject of the coloured population, slaves as well as free, occupied the attention of the Legislature of Virginia, and in a secret session, they instructed the governor,



Mr. Monroe, to apply to the President of the United States to institute a negociation with some of the powers of Europe, possessed of colonies, for an asylum to which the emancipated Negroes might be sent, and colonized. Accordingly in 1802, Mr. Jefferson entered into a negociation with the Sierra Leone Company to induce them to admit our emancipated slaves into their Colony. This plan having failed, he applied to the government of Portugal to admit them into some of their settlements on the coast of Africa. The result was equally unpropitious, and the project was for several years abandoned.

In the session of the Legislature of Virginia in 1816, the following resolution was agreed to by a large majority. As this was the source from which the Colonization Society originated—and as that Society, its originators, and abetters, have been denounced in strong terms of vituperation and malignity, as plotters against the peace and happiness of the southern States, I give the resolution at full length:

"Resolved, That the executive be requested to correspond with the President of the U. States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place, not within any of the states or territorial Governments of the U. States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this Commonwealth; and that the Senators and Representatives of this state in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above objects.

" *Provided,* That no contract or arrangement respecting such territory: shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth, until ratified by the legislature."

The Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey, a man of unbounded benevolence and untiring exertion, commiserating the wretched situation of a large portion of the free blacks, resolved on making an effort to establish a society for colonizing them on the coast of Africa. By great industry and exertions, he enlisted a considerable number of respectable and enlightened citizens in this most benevolent project. A meeting was called at Washington, December 16, 1816, to take the subject into consideration, at which Bushrod Washington presided. After considerable debate, in which Henry Clay, John Randolph, of Roanoke, and various other orators powerfully addressed the meeting in favour of the plan, a constitution was formed, Bushrod Washington was appointed president, and Messrs. Crawford, Clay, Rutgers, Howard, Jackson (Gen.,) Fitzhugh, &c. vice presidents.

^{*} The following letter from this amiable man evinces how deep an interest he took in the distresses and sufferings of the coloured population.



Basking Ridge, July 14th, 1815.

"The longer I live to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patience labour to execute plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject the state of the *free blacks* has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness too, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their colour, is against them: nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly meliorated, while they shall continue among us. *Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to the Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and of protection and support till they were established?* Could they be sent back to Africa, a threefold benefit would arise. We should be cleared of them We should send to Africa a population partly civilized and christianized for its benefit. And our blacks themselves would be put in a better situation. Think much upon this subject, and then please to write me when you have leisure."

A memorial was drawn up, which Mr. Randolph undertook to present to Congress.

7

From this period till 1820, was employed in making arrangements and preparations for an expedition. Money came in very slowly, as the project was too generally regarded as a wild speculation.

On the 3d of March, 1819, Congress passed an act authorising the President to make such rules and regulations as he might deem expedient for the safe keeping, support, and removal of slaves captured in vessels engaged in the slave trade; and to appoint "a proper person or persons, as agent or agents on the coast of Africa for receiving them."

It was obvious that the objects of the government could be better accomplished in conjunction with the Colonization Society, than separately. Accordingly in the year 1820, the Elizabeth was chartered, and took out to the coast two agents of the government, one from the society, and about eighty emigrants. They were to be employed at the expense of the government, in preparing accommodations for the reception of recaptured negroes.

They were in the outset extremely unfortunate. They found it impossible to procure a suitable place, and "were compelled, by a variety of untoward circumstances, to make a temporary establishment in the low, unhealthy island of Sherbro." Here they were detained some time endeavouring to purchase



land—and were attacked by fatal diseases which carried off the three agents, and twenty of the colonists.

The colony was in a lamentable state in the spring of 1821. Great confusion and want of subordination prevailed, in consequence of the death of the agents. At that time, four new agents arrived, Messrs. Andrews, Wiltberger, Winn, and Bacon; the two first on the part of the society, and the others on that of the United States. They brought out twenty-eight emigrants—and from the difficulties that had occurred in procuring land, they proceeded with the old and new hands to the colony of Sierra Leone, to the neighbourhood of Freetown. One of the agents, Mr. Bacon, and his wife, being taken sick, returned to the United States. Mr. Andrews died in August, and Mr. Winn in September.

This was an appalling state of things, and enough to discourage any further attempts. But the society determined to proceed; and Dr. Ayres, as agent of the society, and lieutenant Stockton, as agent of the United Slates, arrived in Dec. 1821, and purchased the island of Montserado, and sufficient land in its neighborhood, for three hundred dollars, payable in tobacco, rum, clothing, fire arms, &c. Part was delivered; but the natives repented of their contract, and having decoyed Dr. Ayres into their power, insisted on his receiving back the goods delivered, with which he was obliged to comply. But, pleading the difficulty of removal, he was allowed to remain on the island, until one of the native kings, who enjoyed a sort of supremacy over the others, undertook to act as umpire, and, hearing both parties, compelled his perfidious regal brothers to perform their contract.

As soon as this difference was compromised, the colonists were removed from Sierra Leone to Montserado, except a few refractory ones, who preferred remaining in the former settlement.

Some serious misunderstanding took place between the natives and the colonists, in the course of 1822. The former became jealous of the latter, being apprehensive it was intended to subjugate them, or at all events to annihilate the slave trade, which was their chief dependence for supplies of European and West India commodities. To prevent these consequences they resolved to attack and extirpate the colony while in its infancy. Accordingly, on the 8th of November, in that year, an attack was made on the settlement by eight hundred of the natives. The colonists were in a very indifferent state of preparation. Their effective numbers were but 8 about 35—their defences were incomplete—and they had very few cannon, one of which was captured in the early part of the siege —but the captors knew not how to use it—and it was retaken, and turned upon them in the course of the conflict. The assailants were completely routed, and fled in confusion. The colonists lost seven men.



They then went to work to complete the fortifications, and were in constant alarms, at the rumours of a renewal of the attack, with greatly increased forces. This took place on the second of December, with 1500 men—who attempted to storm the fortifications, on two sides, simultaneously. The garrison was incomparably better prepared than before, so far as regarded entrenchments, but not as to the number of defenders. They repulsed the assailants, with great slaughter, with the loss of only one man killed and two badly wounded. In the defence, the Rev. Mr. Ashmun, who was dangerously ill, displayed great energy and talent, and was the chief means of saving the colony from destruction.

At the close of this attack, the colonists, on the whole, had but twenty-five effective men, including ten of the recaptured slaves.

About this time, his B. M. schooner Driver came into the harbour, and the captain kindly undertook to negociate a peace between the contending parties, a measure equally acceptable to both, as they were tired of the unprofitable contest.

Since that period the colonists have not been molested. They are objects of respect and veneration, and their friendship is sought after by all the petty kings in their neighbourhood.

A regular form of government was adopted in 1824, which produced the happiest effects on the morals and manners of the Colonists. In truth, this period may be stated as almost the commencement of the establishment—the three preceding years having been the reign of anarchy and confusion.

Manumissions.

Among the most promising and encouraging circumstances attending the career of this society, are the numerous manumissions that have taken place in almost all the slave states, with the express condition of the freed men being sent to Liberia.

These manumissions have occurred on a scale that the most sanguine friends of the scheme could not have anticipated. Entire families have been blest with their freedom, from the most pure motives, a conviction of the immorality and injustice of slavery—and in many cases ample provision has been made for the expense of their passage, and in some for their support in Liberia. They have been thus released from the debasement and degradation of slavery, and sent to the land of their fathers, to partake of all the happiness that freedom and the certainty of enjoying all the fruits of their labour, can inspire.



It would be endless to enumerate the cases of this kind that have occurred. Some of them must be recorded, that the acts, and the names of the parties, where known, may have the applause to which they are entitled, and, what is of more consequence, that they may serve as stimuli to others to follow the noble example.

A lady near Charlestown, Va. liberated all her slaves, ten in number, to be sent to Liberia, and moreover purchased two whose families were among her slaves. For the one she gave \$450, and for the other \$350.

The late Wm. Fitzhugh, bequeathed their freedom to all his slaves, after a certain fixed period, and ordered that their expenses should be paid to whatsoever place they should think proper to go. And, "as an encouragement 9 to them to emigrate to the American colony on the coast of Africa, where," adds the will, "I believe their happiness will be more permanently secured, I desire not only that the expenses of their emigration be paid, but that the sum of fifty dollars shall be paid to each one so emigrating on his or her arrival in Africa."

David Shriver of Frederick co. Maryland, ordered by his will, that all his slaves, thirty in number, should be emancipated, and that proper provision should be made for the comfortable support of the infirm and aged, and for the instruction of the young, in reading, writing and arithmetic, and in some art or trade by which they might acquire the means of support.

Col. Smith, an old revolutionary officer, of Sussex co. Va. ordered in his will, that all his slaves, seventy or eighty in number, should be emancipated, and bequeathed above \$5000 to defray the expense of transporting them to Liberia.

Patsey Morris, of Louisa co., Va. directed by will that all her slaves, sixteen in number, should be emancipated, and left \$500 to fit them out, and defray the expenses of their passage.

The schooner Randolph, which sailed from Georgetown, S. C. had on board 26 slaves liberated by a benevolent individual near Cheraw.

Of 105 emigrants who sailed in the brig Doris from Baltimore and Norfolk, 62 were emancipated on condition of being conveyed to Liberia.

Sampson David, late a member of the Legislature of Tennessee, provided by will that all his slaves, 22 in number, who are mostly young, should be liberated in 1840, or sooner, at his wife's decease, if she died before that period.



Herbert B. Elder, of Petersburg, Va. bequeathed their freedom to all his slaves, twenty in number, with directions that they should be conveyed to Liberia, by the first opportunity.

A gentleman in Georgia, has recently left 49 slaves free on condition of their removal to Liberia.

In this, I had almost said divine work of benevolence, the Society of Friends, as in so many other cases, have nobly distinguished themselves, and assumed a prominent attitude. They have, in North Carolina, liberated no less than 652 slaves, whom they had under their care, besides, as says my authority, an unknown number of children, husbands and wives, that were connected with them by consanguinity. In the performance of these acts of benevolence, they expended \$12,769. They had remaining under their care in Dec. 1830, 402 slaves, for whom the same arrangements were to be made.—African Repository, Dec. 1830, page 319.

It holds out every encouragement to the Colonization Society, that the applications for the transportation of free negroes, and slaves proposed to be emancipated on condition of removal to Liberia, far exceed its means. There are in North Carolina and the adjacent states, from three to four thousand of both descriptions, ready to embark, were the Society in a situation to send them away.

The declarations of Legislatures and other assembled bodies in favour of the Colonization Scheme.

The Colonization Society has, by perseverance and by the intrinsic merit of its views, at length "won golden opinions" from the greater part of the nation. The Legislatures of thirteen States, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana, have passed resolutions approving of the object of the Society, and recommending the B 10 system of foreign colonization. Eleven of those States have instructed their senators, and requested their representatives in Congress to promote, in the general government, measures for removing such free persons of colour as are desirous of emigrating to Africa. And "nearly all the ecclesiastical bodies in the United States have, by resolutions, firmly expressed their opinion, that the Society merits the consideration and favour of the whole christian community, and earnestly recommended it to their patronage." I annex a few specimens:

Resolve of the legislature of Connecticut, 1824.

"Resolved, That the existence of Slavery in the United States is a great national evil and that the people and the States ought to participate in the burdens and duties of removing it by all just and prudent measures, which may be adopted with a due regard to their internal peace and mutual



harmony: and that a system of colonization under the patronage of the General Government, may reasonably be deemed conducive to so desirable an object."

Resolve of the legislature of New Jersey, 1825.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Legislature, a system of Foreign Colonization, with correspondent measures, might be adopted, that would in due time, effect the entire emancipation of slaves in our country, and furnish an asylum for the free Blacks, without any violation of the National Compact, or infringement of the rights of individuals; and that such a system should be predicated upon the principle, that the evil of Slavery is a national one, and that the People and the States of this union ought, mutually, to participate in the duties and burdens of removing it."

Resolve of the legislature of Kentucky, 1827.

"Resolved by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That they view with deep and friendly interest, the exertions of the American Colonization Society, in establishing an asylum on the Coast of Africa, for the Free people of Colour of the United States; and that the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this state, be and they are hereby requested, to use their efforts to facilitate the removal of such free persons of colour as may desire to emigrate from the United States to the Colony in Africa, and to insure to them the protection and patronage of the General Government, so far as shall be deemed consistent with the safety and interest of the United States."

Of the legislature of Delaware.

"Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, in General Assembly met, That it is requisite for our prosperity, and, what is of more important concern, essential to our safety, that measures should be taken, for the removal from this country, of the Free Negroes and Mulattoes.

"Resolved, That this General Assembly approve the objects of the American Colonization Society, and consider that these objects deserve public support, and that they ought to be fostered and encouraged by the National Governments, and with the National funds."

The following resolves were passed at a late meeting held at St. Mary's, in Maryland:

Resolved, That the colonizing of free blacks at Liberia has succeeded beyond the expectation of its most enthusiastic projectors, and experience has demonstrated, beyond all doubt, the capacity of the scheme, to foster the prosperity, to elevate the character, and promote the happiness of



those who have had wisdom to translate themselves to a country so eminently gifted with every production of nature necessary to sustain life.

Resolved, That it is not only the interest, but it is the duty of the free blacks to seek this asylum, provided for them by the philanthropy of the good and wise; and that it is regretted that, notwithstanding the munificence of the State Legislature, in providing annually a sum, to be placed under the management of the Colonization Society, to assist in the removal, that not one has been found within our county who has applied for emigration.

Resolved, That it is recommended to the General Assembly of Maryland to appropriate, annually, the Further sum of ten thousand dollars, to be subject to the order of the American Colonization Society, so far as the same is required for the removal of persons 11 of colour, bona fide belonging to, or residing in, the State of Maryland, the names of whom shall be left with the Treasurer of Maryland, upon the payment of any portion of the said appropriation.

Resolved, That the attention of the Congress of the United States be invited to give, from our National Treasury, such aid and countenance to the colony at Liberia, as may be constitutionally permitted; and, if the aid of the National Government must be withheld, because such legislation is not granted to Congress by the constitution, that then Congress shall be invited to propose such amendments to the constitution of the United States as may be requisite to delegate to Congress such power.

The state of Maryland passed an act some years since, appropriating 1000 dollars per annum to aid the Society. Virginia has given a small sum, the amount of which I cannot ascertain. The total amount of the receipts to the end of 1830, has been 112,841 dollars.

Situation of the Colonists.

The country of Liberia extends along the coast about 150 miles, and into the interior from 20 to 30. The chief town, Monrovia, is situated on Cape Montserado, and contains about an hundred houses and 800 inhabitants. The harbour is formed by the mouth of the river Montserado. There is in Monrovia a public library; and a journal is published by Mr. Russwurm, who is said to have 800 subscribers. The defence of the colony depends on six volunteer companies, containing 500 men. The government possesses 20 field pieces and 1000 muskets. There are in the colony about 2000 persons, including about 400 Africans, chiefly liberated by our vessels of war from slave traders. They are settled on one spot on the side of Stockton bay, not far from Monrovia, and are devoted principally to agriculture.— *Revue Encyclopedique*.



It is highly gratifying that in most of the favourable statements of the prospects and of the character of the colonists, I am able to adduce, in addition to the testimony of the late Mr. Ashmun, that of W. E. Sherman, captain of the Liberia, whose letter, from which I extract the information, is dated May 4, 1830, and likewise of captain Nicholson of the United States Navy. Had I relied entirely on the statements of the society, or of its agents, however pure and immaculate they might be—they might, and by many would, be suspected of undue bias, from the interest they feel in the question.

Another authority is Mr. Devany, one of the Colonists, a coloured man, who resided at Liberia for seven years, and who is sheriff of the Colony. He paid a visit to this country in the year 1828, and was examined by a Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States.

Mr. Devany stated this arrangement in the settlement of towns— "A plot of the town is drawn—and when new settlers arrive, they employ a lottery to fix their several situations; each being allowed in the town a quarter of an acre, and 15 acres in the neighbourhood, which he is at liberty to cultivate for himself. Some who wish to become farmers, and to settle at a distance, are allowed small farms of 50 acres. The soil is cultivated with ease; Ploughs are not yet introduced. They have some mules which they brought from the cape de Verde."

In a Circular forwarded by a Committee of the inhabitants of Monrovia, to their brethren in the United States, they give the following description of their situation:

"The first consideration which caused our voluntary removal to this country, and the object we regard with the deepest concern, was liberty—liberty in the sober, simple, but complete sense of the word—not a licentious liberty—nor a liberty without government, or which should place us without the restraint of salutary laws—but that 12 liberty of speech, action and conscience, which distinguishes the free enfranchised citizens of a free state. We did not enjoy that freedom in our native country; and from causes, which, as regards ourselves, we shall soon forget for ever, we were certain, it was not there attainable for our children or ourselves. * * We truly declare, that our expectations and hopes, in this respect, have been realized.

"Our Constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, 'all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the U. States;' and these rights, and these privileges are ours. We are proprietors of the soil we live on, and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and what is of more importance, our sentiments and opinions have their due weight in the Government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own; they grow out of our circumstances, are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. We have a judiciary, chosen from among ourselves: we serve as jurors in the trial of



others, and are liable ourselves to be tried only by jurors of our fellow citizens. We have all that is meant by *liberty of conscience*. The time and mode of worshipping God, as prescribed to us, in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following.

"Forming a community of our own in the land of our forefathers, having the commerce, and soil, and resources of the country at our disposal; we know nothing of that debasing inferiority, with which our very colour stamped us in America; there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation—this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters—that repays us ten thousand times over for all that it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God and our American patrons, for the happy change which has taken place in our situation."

Captain Nicholson, of the U. States Navy, who spent some time at Liberia, confirms the preceding accounts. "The appearance of all the colonists," he observes, "those of Monrovia, as well as those of Caldwell, indicated more than contentment. Their manners were those of freemen, who experienced the blessings of liberty, and appreciated the boon. Many of them had by trade acquired a competency. * * * The children born in the country are fine looking, and I presume can be raised as easily as those of the natives. All the colonists with whom I had communication (and with nearly the whole of them did I communicate, in person, or by my officers) expressed their decided wish to remain in their present situation, rather than to return again to the United States. I cannot give you better evidence of the prosperity of the colony, than by mentioning that eight of my crew (coloured mechanics) after going ashore two several days, applied for and received their discharge, in order to remain as permanent settlers. These men had been absent from their country upwards of three years, and had among them nearly two thousand dollars in clothes and money. Had they not been thoroughly convinced that their happiness and prosperity would be better promoted by remaining among their free brethren in Liberia, they would not have determined on so momentous a step as quitting the United States, perhaps forever, where they all had left friends and relatives."

The wages given to carpenters, masons, &c. (and those by no means the most skilful in their respective trades) are two dollars per day—and the common labourers, from 75 cents to \$1.25.

It is an important circumstance in the affairs of the colonists that the petty savage kings view them in the most friendly light, and are anxious to have them become near neighbours. The kings and head men of Grand Bassa lately sent a pressing invitation to the agent to make a settlement on their land. Two chiefs, whose subjects amount to 10,000 souls, have placed themselves under their protection, and pledged themselves to arm in their defence in the event of any hostile attacks, either from the slavers or unfriendly natives.



The great difficulties of the original settlers have been long overcome. The address of the coloured people above referred to, states that those who 13 now arrive have comfortable houses to receive them; have regular medical attendance in cases of sickness; and "will be surrounded and attended by healthy and happy people, who have borne the effects of the climate, and will encourage and fortify them, under the disadvantages to which emigrants are more or less liable in all countries."

There are at present 126 children of both sexes, attending schools in Monrovia and Caldwell. And the agent expects as soon as school-houses, now being built, are completed, that the number will be doubled. A school house is now being built at Millsburg.

Moral and Religious Character of the Colonists.

Mr. Devany, in his examination, stated that the prevailing morals of the colonists are good. He had witnessed but one fight among them during his residence there; and that was occasioned by a sort of political quarrel with a coloured man from Sierra Leone, who, partaking of the jealous spirit prevailing among some persons there, had spoken in an abusive manner of the American Colony. Larcenies, under five shillings, are punished by fine;—those above that sum by imprisonment. *No instance of a capital crime had yet occurred.*—African Repository, vol. vi. p. 99.

"Some instances of intemperance have occurred—but the habit is confined to two persons only, and does not go to such an extent, as to be of serious injury to the families of the individuals, who are blacksmiths. There are three churches, frame buildings, one of them with a steeple. One belongs to the baptists, one to the methodists, and one, not yet finished, to the presbyterians. *Divine service is attended three times on Sunday, and also on Thursday and Friday evenings.* The Sunday Schools are attended by many of the native children. All who can be decently clad, are in the habit of attending."—Devany, Idem, p. 100.

"There is much hospitality to be found in Monrovia; and among the inhabitants, a greater proportion of moral and religious people, than in this city [Philad.] I never saw a man intoxicated, nor heard an profane swearing during the three weeks I was there. "—Captain Sherman, African Repository, vol. vi. p. 115.

"The court holds its sessions on the first Monday in every month. Juries are empanneled as with us. The jurisdiction of the court extends over the whole colony. The trials are principally for larceny, and the *criminals generally natives*, who commit thefts in the settlements. A few instances of kidnapping have occurred. These depredations were committed on the recaptured Africans. *To the honour*



of the emigrants be it mentioned, that but five of their number have been committed for stealing or misdemeanor since 1827."—Idem, p. 113.

As a potent guard against intemperance, three hundred dollars are required for a license to sell liquors.

Soil and Climate.

The colonists in their address to the coloured population of the U. States, observe that the soil is not exceeded for fertility, or productiveness, when properly cultivated, by any soil in the world. The hills and plains are covered with perpetual verdure. The productions of the soil go on through the year, without intermission. Notwithstanding the imperfections of the farming tools used by the natives, they raise more than they can consume, and frequently more than they can sell. "We have," they add, "no dreary winter here, for one-half the year, to consume the productions of the other half. Nature is constantly renovating herself, and constantly pouring her treasures all the year round, into the lap of the industrious."

This statement is confirmed by the late Dr. Randall, agent of the Society. He says—"The lands on both sides of Stockton creek, are of the very best 14 quality; being a rich, light alluvion, equal in every part to the best lands on the southern rivers of the United States."

Tuckey, in his account of the expedition to the Congo, corroborates both these statements: "The extent of the land is capable, with very moderate industry, of supporting a great increase of population—not the one hundredth part of what we have passed over, being made any use of whatever."

Dr. Randall, writing in December, describes the climate as delightful, "It is not," he says, "very warm during the day, and at night cool enough to sleep with comfort under a blanket." The town of Monrovia he considered quite as healthy as any of our southern cities. He was of opinion that with proper precautions and moderate prudence, emigrants from the northern cities, might come with but little risque from the climate. The whole experience of the colony has proved that no danger attended emigrants from the southern states.

"The climate is mild and uniform; the thermometer never being lower than 68° nor higher than 88° save perhaps one day in a season, when it has been known to rise to 90°



"There is a constant sea breeze, and Mr. Devany had seen the weather quite cool—not cold enough, however, to produce frost. The houses have no chimneys, except to the kitchens; but it is customary in the cooler weather, to use small furnaces with charcoal."—African Repository, vol. vi. page 104.

"The true character of the African climate," observe the colonists, "is not understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, and as longlived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in the colony—nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet existed in that part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country, is a great one—too great not to affect the health, more or less—and in the case of old people and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements. They met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But we look back to these times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our houses and circumstances are now comfortable: and for the last two or three years not one person in fifty, from the middle and southern states, had died from the change of climate."

The uniform experience of the colonists has proved that emigrants from the Southern States become speedily acclimated. If they have the fever of the country, it affects them Wry lightly—and those who are prudent, and observe the advice of the settlers, are in no more danger than the emigrants from Europe to this country. On board a vessel that sailed from Boston in the severe season, and arrived in sultry weather at Monrovia, the mortality was very considerable. But it is believed that the whole number of persons who have died in consequence of sickness contracted on the voyage, or by the unfavorable nature of the climate, is not more than have perished in a single slave ship bound to Rio Janeiro.

The Indian Chief conveyed to Africa 154 persons, of whom 39 were from the state of North Carolina. Not an individual of the latter number suffered materially from sickness. And some who left Norfolk in bad health, derived ultimately benefit from the change of climate.— *Tenth Annual Report*.

"The whole country between Cape Mount and Trade Town is rich in soil 15 and other natural advantages, and capable of sustaining a numerous and civilized population beyond almost any other country."

"For beauty and fertility, the country is surpassed by none in the world; for salubrity of situation, excellent water, and facility of being brought under cultivation, by none equally unpeopled in Africa. Imagine a fine river, half a mile wide, and affording across its channel from bank to bank from three



to four fathoms of water—the country on either side champaign, and the level about twenty to thirty feet above that of the river—the banks every where perpendicular, exhibiting, in order, the different strata of which the general bed of the country is composed—the waters of the river to be sweet at a very small distance above the mouth, eight months in the year—at nine miles, the year round—and you have a correct, but still imperfect idea of this noble river, and the adjacent country. The original growth is exuberant, and the soil a rich, deep and loose loam, entirely destitute of stones, exhibiting in some places a prevalence of sand, and in others of a fat clay—but all about equally productive."— *Ashmun*.

"Not an hour have I spent here without feeling the refreshing and salutary influences of a fresh breeze from the ocean. The settlement can never be without it. * * No situation of Western Africa can be more salubrious. The sea air does all that can be done for it in this climate. One peculiarity is, that the night air is nearly as pure as any other. * * The rapidity and luxuriance of vegetation here, the natives of temperate latitudes can hardly imagine."— *Idem*.

Dr. Mechlin states in a recent communication, that "to those emigrants who have had the fever, and are in a great measure acclimated, Africa proves a more congenial clime than the United States. There they enjoy a greater immunity from disease: and pulmonary affections, so rife among the coloured population in the United States, are almost unknown in Liberia.

Commerce and Productions.

The commerce of Liberia, as yet in its infancy, is respectable, and increasing annually. The exports are rice, palm oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dye wood, gold, hides, wax, and coffee. Coffee and cotton grow spontaneously. Indigo and the sugar cane succeed, and will be cultivated to advantage. Camwood is abundant, and mahogany grows at the cape. The timber of Liberia is various and durable, and well adapted to building. The imports consist of an assortment of the productions of Europe, the West Indies, and America. The port of Monrovia is seldom clear of European and American vessels, loading and unloading.

A trading company has been formed at Monrovia, with a capital of \$1000; and an agreement entered into, that no dividend shall be made until the profits increase the capital to \$20,000. The stock has risen from 50 to 75 on transfer shares.

A colonist, of the name of Waring, has sold goods to the amount of \$70,000, in the year 1830. The sales of Mr. Devany, the sheriff, amounted to between 24 and \$25,000, in 1830; and his property was worth about \$20,000, made during the seven years in which he has resided in Monrovia.



"The commerce of the colony during the last year, has greatly exceeded that of any former year. Within that period 46 vessels visited the port, of which 21 were Americans, and a majority of the remainder English. The exports amounted to nearly 90,000 dollars, and the merchandize and produce on hand, at the close of the year, amounted to about 23,000 dollars."

16

The advantages of Colonization to the Free Coloured People.

That the free coloured population in this country labour under the most oppressive disadvantages, which their freedom can by no means counterbalance, is too obvious to admit of doubt. I waive all enquiry whether this is right or wrong. I speak of things as they are—not as they might, or as they ought to be. They are cut off from the most remote chance of amalgamation with the white population, by feelings or prejudices, call them what you will, that are inerradicable. Their situation is more unfavourable than that of many slaves. "With all the burdens, cares and responsibilities of freedom, they have few or none of its substantial benefits. Their associations are, and must be, chiefly with slaves. Their right of suffrage gives them little, if any, political influence, and they are practically, if not theoretically excluded from representation and weight in our public councils." No merit, no services, no talents can ever elevate them to a level with the whites. Occasionally, an exception may arise. A coloured individual, of great talents, merits, and wealth, may emerge from the crowd. Cases of this kind are to the last degree rare. The coloured people are subject to legal disabilities, more or less galling and severe, in almost every state in the Union. Who has not deeply regretted their late harsh expulsion from the State of Ohio, and their being forced to abandon the country of their birth, which had profited by their labours, and to take refuge in a foreign land? Severe regulations have been recently passed in Louisiana, to prevent the introduction of free people of colour into the state. Whenever they appear, they are to be banished in sixty days. The strong opposition to the establishment of a negro college in Newhaven, speaks in a language not to be mistaken, the jealousy with which they are regarded. And there is no reason to expect, that the lapse of centuries will make any change in this respect. They will, always, unhappily be regarded as an inferior race. In some of the states, they are actually doomed to idleness, because, however skilful they may be, in any branch of manufactures, white operatives cannot generally be induced to work with them. Such being their situation in this country, surely they ought to long as eagerly for a settlement in the land of their ancestors, as the captive tribes of Israel hungered for a return to the land of Canaan.

What a contrast to their situation in Liberia! There they will be lords of the soil, and have every inducement and every opportunity to cultivate their minds. They will not be borne down by that sense of inferiority, from whose goadings they cannot escape here, and which is enough to depress



minds the most highly gifted. According to their respective merits, they may aspire to any of the offices of honour and profit and influence, in the colony. The bar, and the bench, and the medical profession, will be open to them, from which they are debarred here by an impassible barrier.

Africa before the Irruption of the Barbarians.

Those who argue, from the present state of the coloured population of this country, against the prospect of a high degree of civilization in Africa, reason from very imperfect data. Here the coloured people have laboured, and still labour, under almost every possible disadvantage. In most of the southern states, slaves are debarred from the attainment of the slightest rudiments of knowledge. And even in states free from slavery, the coloured people have little opportunity of cultivation. Condemned by poverty, almost universally, to the lowest occupations, they have neither time nor means to improve themselves. But they will not suffer much, on a fair comparison with whites of the same grade. The best criterion, however, by which to 17 judge, is the progress they have made in Liberia, where they escape the degradation to which they are exposed here. Of their improvement in morals, and manners, and habits, the testimony of Captains Sherman and Nicholson, from which I have made slight quotations in the preceding pages, precludes all doubt. It may be confidently stated, that few of the American colonies made greater advances in the same space of time than they have done in the seven years that have elapsed since the establishment of order and good government in 1824. The distance between the Colonists at Liberia and the civilized inhabitants of Europe at present, is not so great as between the former and the inhabitants of some parts of Europe in olden time, when the latter painted their bodies, had no chimneys to their houses, lay upon straw on the ground, covered themselves with skins fastened with skewers, and were tenants in common with the pigs which partook of the hospitality of their houses.

Africa, though brutalized by wars, the invasions of barbarians, and the most grinding despotism, was once on as proud an eminence in point of civilization as any part of Europe. Carthage contended for the supremacy with Rome for one hundred and twenty years—and, but for domestic factions, the bane of republics, would probably have subjugated Italy. The destruction of the Carthaginian annals by the Romans renders it impossible to enumerate any of her great men, except her warriors. Rome never produced a greater general than Hannibal. Some of his relations were men of great talents in the same department. Jugurtha was superior to most of the Romans who were sent against him. Terence, the dramatist, was an African.

Christianity and civilization were early introduced into Africa. There were several provincial councils held there. At one of them, held in Carthage, in 397, the canon of the Roman Catholic Bible was settled. Another was held in the same place in 410—and two others at Milevi. In the fifth century, the number of Catholic Bishops in Africa, was four hundred. Origin, Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine,



among the great lights of Christianity in their day, were Africans. And it is not too much to expect that future Hannibals and Terences and Cyprians and Augustines will arise to defend and illuminate that now benighted country. Should such a result take place, the merit will belong to the illustrious founders of the Colonization Society.

Effects of the Colonization Scheme on the Slave Trade, with a slight Sketch of that Nefarious Traffic.

Among the striking advantages attending the Colony at Liberia, is the check it has given to the slave trade already, and the probable suppression, ultimately, of that nefarious traffic on a large portion of the western coast of Africa by the gradual extension of the settlements. Before the establishment of the settlements at Liberia, there were several slave factories within a few miles of the place, all of which have been completely broken up. Four or five years back, there was not a single factory from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount, a distance of 100 miles; and 120 miles, from Cape Mount to Trade Town, the whole of the coast of Liberia. More recently, a factory has been established at Cape Mount, forty-five miles from Monrovia, where the trade is carried on briskly. But it is probable, as soon as the Colony gains more strength, this nest of kidnappers and traders in human flesh and human suffering, will be extirpated.

The African chiefs, in the neighborhood of Liberia, have generally voluntarily C 18 abandoned the traffic, finding they can supply themselves with what articles they want, of European and West India goods, by the sale of their own domestic productions. Some of them have put themselves under the protection of the colony.

To duly appreciate the advantages of this result, it is only necessary to reflect for a moment on the horrors of this nefarious traffic; and although it has been presented times without number, to the execration of mankind, I may be permitted to take a bird's eye view of it. The number of slaves kidnapped in 1824, was 120,000. And the number imported into the single port of Rio for nine years, 1820—8, has been 264,964.

1126,369

In 1820, 15,020 In 1825, 26,254

1821, 24,134 1826, 33,999

1822, 27,363 1827, 29,787

1823, 20,349 1828, 48,555



1824, 39,503 264,964

126,36 264,964

[Walsh's notices of Brazil, vol. 1. p. 178.

It has been ascertained, beyond the possibility of doubt, notwithstanding the efforts of the chief maritime powers of Europe, and those of the United States, to suppress this traffic, that from the two towns, Money and Pangas, there have been 352 cargoes of slaves taken, in little more than a year.

It has been estimated that one third, but say one fifth, perish in the voyage; and that an equal number die after their landing, of diseases contracted on the voyage, or of grief for their forlorn situation. This would make an aggregate of above 300,000, doomed to destruction, or interminable slavery, for one single port!

To heighten the enormity of this "sin crying to heaven for vengeance," it is ascertained that in cases of shortness of provision, the slaves are often remorselessly thrown overboard. On board a vessel, some time since, thirty nine negroes became blind, and twelve had lost an eye. They were thrown into the fathomless ocean. A single vessel, the Protector, took on board at Mozambique 807 slaves, of whom 339 died on the voyage.

The Maria Primeira, a Portuguese ship, took on board upwards of 500 slaves. This number was reduced to 403 in consequence of extreme crowding, before she was captured, and brought into Sierra Leone. Nearly 100 more died soon after, from diseases contracted on board.— *Transactions of the London African Association*.

The following heart-rending picture of the slave trade has been drawn by Sir George O'Meara, who was employed on the coast of Africa, to suppress it. "Such is the merciless treatment of the slaves, that no fancy can picture the horrors of the voyage. Crowded together so as not to have the power to move—linked one to the other by the leg—never unfettered while life remains, or till the iron shall have fretted the flesh almost to the bone—forced under a deck, as I have seen them, not thirty inches in height—breathing an atmosphere the most putrid and pestilential possible—with little food and less water—subject to the most severe punishment, at the caprice or fancy of the brute who may command the vessel—it is to me a matter of extreme wonder that any of these miserable wretches live the voyage through. Many of them, indeed, perish on the passage, and those of them who remain to meet the shore, present a picture of wretchedness language cannot express."

19



The following graphic sketch of the progress of the society, by Elliot Cresson, must afford heartfelt pleasure to all the friends of humanity, and in an especial manner to those who have taken an active part in the promotion of this most benevolent project:

"Nearly 2000 persons have kindled a beacon fire at Monrovia, to cast a broad blaze of light into the dark recesses of that benighted land; and, though much pains have been taken to overrate the cost, and undervalue the results, yet the annals of colonization may be triumphantly challenged for a parallel.

"Five years of preliminary operations were requisite for surveying the coast—propitiating the natives —and selecting the most eligible site. Numerous agents were subsequently employed—ships chartered—the coast cleared—schools, factories, hospitals, churches, government buildings and dwellings erected—and the many expenses requisite here were defrayed;—and yet, for every fifty dollars expended by the society from its commencement, we have not only a settler to show, but an ample and fertile territory in reserve, where our future emigrants may 'sit down under their own vines and fig trees, with none to make them afraid.' During the last year, an amount, nearly equal to the united expenditures, has been exported by the colonists. From Philadelphia alone, eleven vessels have sailed; three of them chartered through the efforts of the Pennsylvania Society, and bearing to the land of their fathers a large number of slaves, manumitted by the benevolence of their late owners."

The disadvantages to the white population, arising from the existence of slavery, are strikingly stated by the Colonization Society of Kentucky:

"Experience has taught us, that slaves add nothing to our wealth. Where they exist, labour is not only high, but badly performed; and the communities growing up around us, which are clear of this evil, flourish over us, and by their cheapness of labour, nicer mechanism, and more abundant industry, are making us tributary. The progress of light—the conduct of other nations—and particularly that of our South American neighbours, in liberating their slaves—the growing belief of the disadvantages of slavery, with other causes, contribute to increase the conviction that slavery is an evil, and that its consequences may one day or other become terrible."

To the same effect the Richmond and Manchester Colonization Society declares, that,

"To provide for the free negro a country, is alike the dictate of humanity towards him, and of policy towards ourselves. While he remains here, no white labourer will seek employment near him. Hence it is, that in some of the richest counties east of the Blue Ridge, the white population is stationary, and in many others it is retrograde. Virginia, once the first state in numbers, as she is still in territory, has



CONGRESS
become the third, and will soon have to descend to the fourth rank. The valuation of the lands of New York exceeds the estimate of all the lands and slaves in Virginia."